1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

are also required to render help. For instance, at a funeral the womenfolk of the 'friendly' *okka* were required to cook and serve food to the mourners.

XII

No reference has been made so far to territorial groups in Coorg except for mentioning, in Section V, an instance of the co-operation that prevails between the various castes living in a village or *nāḍ* during the harvest festival. The village is the smallest and most important of the territorial groups, and the *nāḍ*, consisting of several villages is the next bigger group. Traditionally Coorg was divided into thirty-five *nāḍs* and twelve *kombus*. A *kombu* literally means 'horn' or 'branch', and in the administrative context it means the area covered by the sound of a brass horn. It is not known what purpose was served by this unit. The twelve *kombus* together formed the kingdom of Coorg ruled by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas.

It has already been mentioned that a village in Coorg Proper is not as physically compact as a village in the eastern plains. But this does not make it any the less real. The village acts as a unit on certain occasions and its unity obtains ritual expression. The people of a village have a great attachment for it. Besides, every village has a council of elders, and the council is presided over by the *ūr takka* or village headman, whose office is hereditary. The headmanship (or any other traditional office) is always conceived of as belonging to a certain *okka* and not to an individual.

Like the village, the *nāḍ* is a unit which corresponds to the sentiments of the people, and is not merely an administrative division imposed by the Rājas. The number of villages in a *nāḍ* varies from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ*: there are 11 villages in Bēngunāḍ, 5 in Ballatnāḍ, 16 in Kaḍiyetnāḍ, 10 in Eḍénālknāḍ, and 9 in Mūrnāḍ. These are ancient *nāḍs*, but the boundary of a *nāḍ* has frequently been changed in the past. It was changed, for instance, when the entire administration of the country was reorganized by either Muddu Rāja (1638–86) or his son Doḍḍa Vīrappa (Vīra Rāja II, 1687–1736). The number of *nāḍs* remained 35 as before, but their boundaries were changed. Subsequently, under the British, the number of *nāḍs* were reduced successively to 28, 24, 19, and 11.

The headman of a *nāḍ* is called *nāḍ takka*, and while every

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

[p. 58]

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3. Map showing Administrative Divisions in *circa* 1850

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

village has only one headman, a *nāḍ* might have an indefinite number varying from one to seven.

In Map 3 (*c.* 1850) Coorg is divided into 28 *nāḍs*, and this is the earliest map we have of Coorg. If the *nāḍ*-headmen existing today are related to the 28 *nāḍs* of Map 3, it will be found that 9 *nāḍs* have 1 *nāḍ*-headman each, 10 have 2 each, 3 have 3 each, 2 have 4 each, another 2 have 6 each, 1 has 5, and another 7. Only 1 of the 9 *nāḍs* having 1 *nāḍ*-headman each is in Coorg Proper, and 2 of the 10 *nāḍs* having 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in north Coorg. All the *nāḍs* which have more than 2 *nāḍ*-headmen each are in Coorg Proper. Out of a total of 70 *nāḍ*-headmen, 58 are in Coorg Proper and only 12 in north Coorg.

It has been mentioned earlier that Coorgs predominate in Coorg Proper, which more or less forms a distinct culture-area within Coorg. Most headmen are Coorgs, and it is well known that the few non-Coorgs who hold headmanship have done so by virtue of having bought the lands of *okkas* in whom headmanship was vested.[1]

It is then not unreasonable to conclude that *nāḍ*-headmen are indigenous only to Coorg Proper and that they have been extended to north Coorg by the Rājas. This is the reason why the *takka*-organization in north Coorg has such a formal appearance. Again, there are neither *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) *takkas*, the highest category of headmen, nor *ūr takkas*, in north Coorg. In this part of Coorg the headman of a village (*ūr*) is called *paṭēl* as he is in Mysore, and he is usually not a Coorg.

It is likely that the proliferation of *nāḍ*-headmen in Coorg Proper is due to the fact that every *okka* which achieved prominence in local affairs claimed headmanship. After the annexation of Coorg by the British, individuals occupying high positions in the administration and who had acquired wealth were able to call themselves headmen. This fact is very generally known to old Coorgs.

Like the village, the *nāḍ*, too, has an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in it; and it acts as a unit on certain occasions. An appeal lies from the decision of the village-assembly to the *nāḍ*-assembly.

[1] The lands of the two *sīmé*-headmen in Tāvunāḍ, Pōréyanḍa and Paruvanda, who were Coorgs, have now been bought by the Kuḍupajjé and Sūratalé *okkas* respectively, and the latter are immigrants from South Canara belonging to the caste of Gauḍas or peasants.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 Above the *nāḍ*-headmen there are *sīmé*- (or *dēsha*-) headmen, of whom there are eight in all. The *sīmé*-headman has precedence over the *nāḍ*-headman at a gathering where both are present.

634 692 631 The division of the country into twelve *kombus* or 'horns', and the establishment of four *paṭṭis* (literally, the open paved yard before a Coorg's house) or courts for hearing appeals from village and *nāḍ*-assemblies, appear to be only administrative devices imposed from above, and not traditional institutions of the people which functioned vigorously. The *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*, a folksong which gives an account of the administrative system introduced by either Muddu Rāja or Doḍḍa Vīrappa,[1] mentions the existence of twelve *kombus*, and gives a list of the eight *sīmé*-headmen and four appellate courts. A caution should be entered here against treating this song as evidence of the system as it actually existed. The picture it presents is too tidy and systematized, and it is not improbable that it sacrifices accuracy for neatness and order.

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It is likely that before Coorg was conquered by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas the biggest territorial unit was a group of two or three or more *nāḍs* led by a chief who called himself Nāyaka. The chiefs constantly fought among themselves, and this made it easier for the Lingāyaṭ Rājas to conquer them and extend their authority over the whole of Coorg.

Two or three *nāḍs* seem to have also come together for purposes of defence against a common enemy, for hunting, and for hearing appeals from the decisions of lower assemblies like the village-assembly and *nāḍ*-assembly. It is interesting to note, however, that while folklore contains occasional references to an appeal to an assembly composed of the men of two or three *nāḍs*, there is no reference to an appeal to a *paṭṭi*, one of the four appellate courts mentioned in the *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*.

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XIII

621 504 The village represents a different type of solidarity from caste. The latter stresses the ties prevalent between members of the same caste scattered in different villages, whereas the former stresses the ties of the different castes living in the same village. Caste stresses the importance of the high castes and more or less ignores the lowest castes. When a Coorg says that when there is a wedding

[1] N. Chinnappa, op. cit., p. 29.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

returned to his village and gave a feast to the headmen and villagers. This completed his readmission to society.

The man who commits an offence against the moral code of the community is treated as an extremely impure person; and the purificatory rites which he performs before being readmitted to society are the same as those which first-grade mourners perform before attaining normal ritual status. An offence against the ethical code results in pollution, a fact which makes clear to everyone the nature of the offence. Such an offence also angers the ancestors and deities.

When a person was, however, guilty of a very great offence against the caste code, like adultery or fornication with someone belonging to a very low caste, the offender was irrevocably excommunicated. Moegling mentions[1] the case of a Coorg woman who was guilty of adultery with a man belonging to one of the Untouchable castes and who was consequently thrown out of the caste irrevocably. She was forced to live among Untouchables. Finally, both she and her Coorg husband, who was personally ready to forgive her, became converts to Christianity.

A person guilty of the offence mentioned above was considered as good as dead, and the rite of excommunication was called, appropriately enough '*kōḍi kittuvudu*' or 'tearing the cloth'. The offender and his relatives held a hemmed cloth, such as the one used by Coorgs for tying round the head, between them, and this was torn in two. Thereafter the offender ceased to exist for them. Even his son was not bound to maintain him while alive or perform funeral rites after his death.

XIV

A *nāḍ* is a bigger unit than a village, and it is usually more homogeneous culturally than a larger area which includes it and a few other *nāḍs*. The differences between *nāḍs* are considerable if we compare geographically extreme instances like Kiggaṭnāḍ and Nālknāḍ, but even if we take two neighbouring *nāḍs* they are bound to differ in certain respects, differences in matters of detail which might appear unimportant to the outsider, but which appear as extremely important to the inhabitants of the *nāḍs* in question. In fact, each *nāḍ* sees the points in which it differs from its neighbours

[1] Op. cit., pp. 213–14.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

as symbols of its identity and individuality, if not superiority. The saw '*ār nāḍku nūr pāje*', which might be translated as 'six *nāḍs*, hundred customs', testifies to the great cultural diversity within Coorg.

A *nāḍ* might differ from other *nāḍs* in the matter of the date of observance of important festivals such as the harvest festival and festival of arms. It might also differ in the articles used in the festival ritual: for instance, the plants used in the harvest festival ritual vary in different *nāḍs*, and this is due to the fact that in each area the plants locally prolific are chosen to express a wish for growth.

The various villages of a *nāḍ* co-operate on certain occasions as the harvest festival and the periodical festival of the local village-deity. During the harvest festival, on the day after the village dance (*ūr kōlu*), a dance for the entire *nāḍ* (*nāḍ kōlu*) is held in which all the men of the *nāḍ* take part. Games testing the strength and skill of individuals are also held on this occasion, and this provides an opportunity for the canalization of inter-village rivalry, just as at a festival in a village the games played canalizes inter-*okka* rivalry.

When the bridegroom is marching in state to the bride's house it is customary for the villages in the groom's *nāḍ* to offer him the 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): a row of three stout plaintain stems are fixed to the ground near the boundary (*mundalé*) of the village or *nāḍ*, and the groom is asked to cut the stems with his sword. The groom delegates someone to cut the stems on his behalf. The man offering the groom the 'plantain honour' should be wearing a Coorg gown, and he offers the party warm water to wash their hands and feet, mats to sit on, and betel leaves and areca-nut to chew. (Warm water, mat, and betel and nut are all symbols of hospitality and respect in Coorg as elsewhere in India.) If the party arrive at night the host provides them with torches for the road. The groom has to pay a money gift of two *paṇas* (about six annas) to the host in acknowledgement of the honour and hospitality done to him and his party.

A man has a great love for his *nāḍ*. This comes out repeatedly in Coorg folklore. An infant boy, called Chondu, was orphaned, and the *nāḍ* elders had to make arrangements for his care. When Chondu reached the years of discretion he wanted to show how deeply he appreciated what his *nāḍ* had done for him. He deter-

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

mined to become a great fighter: he would challenge every village and *nāḍ* to produce someone to fight him in single combat (*otté poru*). He would defeat them all and this would bring great glory to his *nāḍ*. He travelled about Coorg sitting in a palanquin, challenging every village either to produce someone to fight him or give him a sum of money in acknowledgement of defeat. His technique was to go to the village temple and order the priest to stop worshipping the deity till either his challenge was met or the sum of money asked for was paid. The latter course was chosen by most villages.

His challenge was, however, accepted by a mere boy called Appayya (of the Kaiyandira *okka*) in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. When Appayya's mother remonstrated at his having accepted the challenge of a great fighter like Chondu, the spirited boy replied, 'Until now you were my mother, but from now on my *nāḍ* is my mother.' Appayya defeated and killed Chondu by resorting to trickery: he first of all blinded Chondu by suddenly throwing sand into his eyes and then stabbed him.

Honours were showered on the boy-hero by a grateful *nāḍ*. The ceremony of *mangala* (see Chapter III) was performed for him. He was placed in a position of seniority to everyone in the *nāḍ* and none was allowed to call him by name. He had to be addressed as '*pĕriya moli*' which means 'big elder'. He was prohibited from touching anyone's feet in salutation. Also, as he had ensured the continuity of worship at the Choli Povvedi temple in Arapaṭ, certain privileges were conferred on Appayya *vis-à-vis* the temple: he could go there even when under pollution (*polé*), and he could go to the annual festival of the deity sitting in the palanquin in which his opponent had sat during his journey through Coorg.

The office of the 'big elder' was hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka* till the latter became extinct. The headman of the *okka* was the 'big elder', and when he died his successor became the 'big elder'. The honour was conferred at a *mangala* ceremony which was performed in the open quadrangle of the Kaiyandira house.

Coorg was traditionally divided into twelve *kombus*, but the *kombu* appears as a shadowy unit beside the *nāḍ* and the village; and the occasional coming together of two or three *nāḍs* under a chief during the pre-Lingāyaṭ days, or to discuss a matter of common interest, cannot be treated as a permanent feature of the structure.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 While groups wider than the *nāḍ* are shadowy, the same cannot be said of the *sīmé*-headmen, who are higher than *nāḍ*-headmen. There are eight *sīmé*-headmen in Coorg Proper, and they are usually mentioned in pairs. Each pair of *sīmé*-headmen comes from the same *nāḍ*: Kaḷḷangala and Boḷḷera from Tāvaḷagērimūrnāḍ, Mātanḍa and Buḍuvanḍa from Beppunāḍ, Pāndira and Paradanḍa from Nālknāḍ, and finally, Pōreyanḍa and Paruvanḍa from Tāvunāḍ.

596 628 634 Feuds between *okkas* seem to have continued well into the latter half of the last century. In 1870 Ritcher wrote: 'It may still happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to seek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.'[1] A feud between *okkas* was called *kuḍupi*, while a feud between villages or between *nāḍs* was called *naradalé*. It is likely that feuds between *okkas* in the same village were extremely rare as the village was too compact a unit to permit of feuds within it. But the same cannot be said of villages within the same *nāḍ*. The annual dance, at the harvest festival, for all the villages of Ballatnāḍ, is nowadays attended only by Pērūr, and this is attributed to the former prevalence of feuds between the various villages composing this *nāḍ*.

628 634 539 Formerly feuds between *nāḍs* were very common, and folklore bears ample testimony to this fact. There was a long feud between Bēngunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ in the course of which they conducted raids on each other. A hero called Appaṇṇa, who later came to be famous as Kappaṇṇa or 'robber', was born in Ballatnāḍ, and when he was born all the people of Bēngunāḍ suffered from headache. Later he raided the Povvedi temple in Bēngūr, and robbed it of the two wooden pins (*kīlu*) with which the temple's see-saw (*rāṭé*) was fixed to two wooden posts. Pilgrims used to sit on the see-saw at the periodical festival of Povvedi of Bēngūr.

The robbing of the wooden pins belonging to the Bēngūr Povvedi temple was a triumph for Balmāvṭi. The latter had a see-saw made and used it at the biennial festival of the Povvedi of Balmāvṭi. At the beginning of the festival of Povvedi of Balmāvṭi there is a rite at which a festival-priest enumerates the restrictions which have to be observed during the festival period, and one of these restrictions states that no one from Bēngūr may approach

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 126.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

the sacred see-saw. Several years ago my friend Shri Paṭṭamāḍa Ponnappa of Bēngūr was asked, during the bienniel festival, not to touch the see-saw.

The entire atmosphere of Coorg folklore is martial: secret raids, fights, heroes, and intrigues are the stuff out of which a folksong is made. The bards delight when a hero is born in their *nāḍ*. They describe the event with gusto. There is a storm, the earth trembles, and the men in the hostile *nāḍ* suffer from headache. On the other hand, the bards wail with self-pity when their *nāḍ* suffers a defeat in a fight. The men of the *nāḍ* go on pilgrimage to their patron-deity and pray to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

In a fight between two *nāḍs*, the temples belonging to either side were commonly attacked. In fact, a temple constituted the most sensitive part of a *nāḍ*. The prevention of the offer of worship to the deity of another *nāḍ* inflicted a very deep humiliation on the latter; and the stealing of the property of the temple of another *nāḍ* was as bad. In a struggle between two *nāḍs* which centred round their temples, the deity of the triumphant *nāḍ* was regarded as having triumphed over the deity of the defeated *nāḍ*. A devotee of the deity of a *nāḍ* was also a patriot of that *nāḍ*. He had to take up arms to ensure the continuance of the offer of worship at the temple of his *nāḍ* or village, and to see that raiders did not succeed in carrying away the property of the temple.

Patriotism for one's *nāḍ* was widespread and deep, and even women and children were imbued with it. Women were in an unfortunate position as they were torn between their love for their natal *nāḍ* and their duty towards their conjugal *nāḍ*. There are instances of women working for their natal *nāḍ* against their conjugal *nāḍ* when the two were at feud with each other.

The widespread prevalence of feuds did have one important structural consequence. They very effectively counteracted the tendency of caste to stress the horizontal ties at the expense of the vertical ties. But with the conquest of Coorg by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas and the decrease of feuds, the horizontal emphasis of caste increased. Thus wider political integration strengthened caste.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

VI

THE CULTS OF THE LARGER SOCIAL UNITS

I

THERE is a considerable body of ritual directly referring to the *okka*, but this is not the case when we come to larger social units such as the village (*ūr*), *nāḍ* (each consisting of a few villages), and *sīmé* or *dēsha* (each consisting of a few *nāḍs*). These large social units were never as closely-knit as the *okka*. The festivals of the village-deities constitute an important source of information on these units, even though only a small part of each festival refers directly to them. Of the calendar festivals, only the harvest festival is important. The festivals of the village-deities, the harvest festival, and folklore are the chief sources for this chapter.

A 'village-deity' does not necessarily mean the deity of a single village. In fact it is common to find two or three villages combining to celebrate the festival of a village-deity. There is usually more than one deity at the festival of a village-deity. Every temple in a village usually contains more than one deity, one chief deity from whom the temple derives its name, and the rest secondary. For instance, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr derives its name from the fact that the chief deity in the temple is Bhadrakāḷi. There is a shrine containing her image, and the other deities in this shrine are Ganēsha, Sārtāvu (Ayyappa), and a *linga* (representing Shiva) said to have been brought from Benares. Outside the shrine, but inside the temple compound, are stones representing Ayyappa, Pattu Kūṭ Pātāḷa (literally, ten spirits of the underworld), and Kuṭṭatammé (the mother of Kuṭṭa).[1] Besides these, the Poleyas of Kuklūr keep representations of some deities worshipped exclusively by them, outside the temple compound on an improvised platform. All the deities in Kuklūr are considered to be subordinate to Bhadrakāḷi. Very frequently there is more than one temple in a village. In Armēri in Beppunāḍ, for instance, there are

[1] Kuṭṭatammé has a temple to herself in Kuṭṭa in south Coorg. She is a famous deity and an annual festival is held in her honour.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

misdemeanour during the festival. Again, the latter may be regarded as more secular than the former: at the festivals of the village-deities the members of the village take a vow in the name of god to keep the rules and restrictions, whereas at the harvest festival no such vow is taken.

At the end of the harvest festival there is a village dance (*ūr kōlu*) in which all the adult males in the village have to take part; and on the following day, or two days later, there is a dance for the entire *nāḍ* to which every village belonging to the particular *nāḍ* sends its representatives. Each village makes a special point of sending its best dancers to the *nāḍ* dance.

The village dance is followed by a collective hunt by the villagers. (A collective hunt may also be organized by a *nāḍ*.) Every adult male in the village is required to be present at the hunt, and a successful hunt implies a co-ordination of the activities of numerous individuals. Lack of proper co-ordination has to be paid for with life or limb.

The festivals of village-deities, the harvest festival, and the festival of arms all terminate with a dinner for the entire village (or *nāḍ*). The boar that is killed in the collective hunt is cooked on this occasion. If the game is not enough to go round, then one or two domesticated pigs or goats are slaughtered in addition. Each house brings its own cooked rice-flour to the dinner. The headman selects five men to serve food to the men.

The men bring halves of coconut shells or leaf-cups for liquor: a young man is given only one cup of liquor while an elder is entitled to more. The singers get an extra share of meat and liquor. The Poleyas do not sit with the rest, but are given a quantity of meat and liquor which they consume by themselves.

Both the village dance and the village hunt stress the unity of the village. In the case of the village hunt, there is the additional element of the threat of danger from the boar or tiger or other wild animal. The village dinner is rightly called *ūrormé* or 'village harmony', as it maintains and increases the harmony of the village.

IX

Like the village and *okka*, the *nāḍ* is a real social unit and not a mere administrative division imposed from above by the Rājas. In fact, before the political integration of Coorg by the Rājas, the maximum political unit seems to have been a union of two or three

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

nāḍs under a chief called Nāyaka, who was usually at feud with other similar chiefs. For some time even after the country had been effectively brought under the control of the Lingāyaṭs Rājas, feuds between *nāḍs* continued to occur.

The play of Kungu which is enacted in the south-western parts of Coorg during the harvest festival gives us a picture of Coorg in the days when inter-*nāḍ* feuds were common. *Maradalé* (feud) was prevalent between Beppunāḍ and Kadiyetnāḍ, and it was so bitter that there was no intermarriage between them. They conducted raids on each other constantly. In one of these raids an arrow from a Beppunāḍ man lodged itself in the body of a Kaḍiyetnāḍ man. The injured fighter was carried by his friends to Chendappanḍa Kungu, a famous doctor in Eḍenālknāḍ. Kungu agreed to treat the injured man because Eḍenālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ were friendly to each other. But Kungu's mother was born in Beppunāḍ and she persuaded her son to neglect the injured man, who belonged to a *nāḍ* which was the traditional enemy of her natal *nāḍ*. The injured man died as a result of Kungu's neglect.

It was common for deities to be identified with their *nāḍs*. Temples were always chosen for attack. The story of Chengeṭṭira Appaṇṇa stealing the wooden pins belonging to the see-saw of the Bēngūr Povvedi temple has already been narrated. The most successful way of rousing the wrath of a *nāḍ* or village was by attacking one of its temples.

A patriot was also a devotee. The story of Kaiyandira Appayya brings out this point clearly. Appayya, a mere boy, whose ear-boring *mangala* had not yet been performed, was cut to the quick when he learnt that the well-known fighter, Kullachenḍa Chōndu, had tried to prevent the offer of worship at the temple of Chōli Povvedi in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. Appayya persuaded the elders of Kaḍiyetnāḍ to permit him to fight Chōndu, whom he killed by resorting to unfair means. Appayya's action, instead of meeting with disapproval, earned him great rewards. *Mangala* ceremony was performed for him, and a number of privileges were conferred on him by a grateful *nāḍ*. These privileges later became hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka*.

When a hero was born in a hostile *nāḍ*, all the people in the *nāḍ* suffered from headache. The tower of its most important temple was damaged, guns hanging from the roof fired of their own accord, babies sleeping in cradles suddenly woke up, frightened, and so on.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

When the fortunes of a *nāḍ* were at a low ebb, the elders of that *nāḍ* went on a pilgrimage to the patron-deity of the *nāḍ* and prayed to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

Legends grew up about a hero. Chegeṭṭira Appaṇṇa is supposed to have accomplished everything he did before he was sixteen days old. The hero had power to curse. After he died, he became a powerful spirit, a *bīra*.

The boundary of a *nāḍ* obtains importance on some ritual occasions. A groom passing in state through a *nāḍ* to the bride's village is given the 'plantain honour' at the boundary of the *nāḍ*.

Richter describes a custom which brings out the ritual importance of the *nāḍ*-boundary:

> In cases of sore afflictions befalling a whole village or *nāḍ* such as small-pox, cholera, cattle-disease, the ryots [peasants] combine to appease the wrath of Māriamma [the goddess Māri who presides over these epidemics] by collecting contributions of pigs, rice, coconuts, bread and plantains, from the different houses and depositing them at the *mandu* [green]; whence they are carried in a procession with tom-toms. In one basket there is some rice, and the members of each house on coming out bring a little rice in the hand, waving it round the head, throw it into the basket, with the belief that the dreaded evil will depart with the rice. At last the offerings are put down on the *nāḍ*-boundary, the animals are killed, their blood is offered on a stone, the rice and basket are left, and the rest of the provisions consumed by those composing the procession. The people of adjoining villages and *nāḍs* repeat the ceremony, and thus the epidemic is supposed to be banished from the country. In still greater calamities, a flock of sheep is driven from *nāḍ* to *nāḍ* and, at last, expelled from the country.[1]

X

There is no social unit among Coorgs which is without a head. Every *okka* has a headman and the headman's wife is the head of the women in the *okka*. A temple has a headman with a number of officials under him. A village has a village-headman, and above the village is the *nāḍ*, and every *nāḍ* has at least one *nāḍ*-headman, and frequently more than one. The highest category of headmen are, however, the headmen of *stmé* or *désha*, of whom there are eight in all.

Coorgs have a keen sense of discipline, which is associated in

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 170.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

on the occasion of the festival of the local village-deity. Such a festival ensured the presence of a large number of elders, a fact which added to the weight and authority of any decision given by the headman. Even more important was the fact that people were generally afraid to perjure themselves before a deity, and this was specially so in the case of some deities like Appangiriyappa of Kāṭakēri, well known for the severe punishment which he inflicted on perjurors.

The success with which a headman was able to settle disputes also depended on his wealth, the spread of his kinship ties, and his reputation for impartiality. The impoverishment of some headmen in recent years and the breakdown of the traditional way of life have been responsible for undermining the authority of the headmen.

XI

Formerly, two or three neighbouring *nāḍs* came together occasionally to discuss matters of common concern. A folksong contains an appeal (*éyi koḍ*) to an assembly of the elders of two *nāḍs* from an assembly of the elders of a single *nāḍ*. Another folksong refers to the elders of three *nāḍs* meeting together.

The performance of certain calendar festivals such as the harvest festival requires the co-operation of several *nāḍs*. The ritual cutting of paddy sheaves constitutes the most important rite of the festival, and this has to be performed during a particular period on a particular day. Both the date and time of performance of the rite are decided only a fortnight before the festival by the astrologer of the Pāḍi Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi village, who informs the assembled headmen of Pāḍināḷknāḍ of his decision. This is later conveyed to every *nāḍ*, village, and *okka*.

Coorgs everywhere in Coorg, with the exception of Kaḍiyetnāḍ people who performed the rite on a different day, accepted the decision of the astrologer of the Subramaṇya temple in Pāḍi. The acceptance produced uniformity in very many *nāḍs*. Such ritual uniformity provides common values and makes possible the integration of several *nāḍs* into a single community.

But it is chiefly Sanskritic Hinduism which provides Coorgs and other Hindus in Coorg with common values which transcend the barriers between *nāḍ* and *nāḍ*, and between caste and caste.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Sanskritic Hinduism also integrates Hindus in Coorg with Hindus in other parts of India. Coorgs and other Hindus in every part of Coorg worship Sanskritic deities like the Kāvēri. Hindus outside Coorg also go on pilgrimage to the source of the Kāvēri on the first of Libra. This makes clear to Coorgs that they are part of a wider community which worships the Kāvēri. Similarly the pilgrimages of Coorgs to certain famous centres of pilgrimage outside Coorg brings them into contact with Hindus speaking different languages and observing different customs, but who all worship certain common deities.

Sanskritic Hinduism gives, then, certain common values to all Hindus, and the possession of common values knits people together into a community. The spread of Sanskritic rites, and the increasing Sanskritization of non-Sanskritic rites, tend to weld the hundreds of sub-castes, sects, and tribes all over India into a single community. The lower castes have a tendency to take over the customs and rites of the higher castes, and this ensures the spread of Sanskritic cultural and ritual forms at the expense of others.

The majority of village-deities in Coorg have Sanskritic names: Bhagavati (Povvedi), Chāmuṇḍi, Chauṇḍi, Kāḷi, Shasta or Ayyappa, and Kshētrapāla (corrupted into Kētrappa) are all Sanskritic. It is possible that these deities were originally non-Sanskritic and known by different names.

There is a passage in the ancient folksong, *dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*, which may be translated as 'there is a Mādēva for every *nāḍ*, a Povvedi for every village, an Ayyappa for every *kēri* (section of a village), a Nāta (cobra-deity) for every *ōṇi* (lane leading to a Coorg house), and a Pūda for every *okka*'. The arrangement mentioned is too neat to be true, but it is not without a germ of truth. Usually, a cobra-deity is found in an *okka* while Povvedi and Mādēva are deities worshipped by a caste, or village, or *nāḍ*. The important point, however, is that every intelligent and educated Coorg interprets the above passage as meaning that the various village-deities are forms of Shiva or his wife Pārvati. This rule enables the chaos of the actual pantheon to be reduced to some kind of order. A similar rule prevails everywhere in India, and this has enabled Sanskritic Hinduism to absorb non-Sanskritic deities.

It is wrong, however, to imagine that it is always Sanskritic Hinduism which bridges the gap between *nāḍs*. The harvest festival, for instance, is in the main non-Sanskritic even though it

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

779 touches Sanskritic ritual idiom at several points. There is also the
634 classic instance of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa (alias Ajjappa), the fighter, magician, and doctor, whose apotheosized spirit is nowadays worshipped by Coorgs in every part of Coorg.

769 The story of Kaliyāṭanḍa Ponnappa is not entirely fictitious, but
173 has a basis of fact. He was a descendant of the Kaliyāṭ *okka* in Kunjala village in Nālknāḍ, and very early in his life he seems to have gone to Malabar to study medicine and magic. After his return to Kunjala he became famous for his magical powers: he was said to have under his control the 'ten spirits of the underworld' (*pattu kūṭ pātāḷa*) which did what he wanted them to do. He was also a fighter, and he actually died while fighting the soldiers of Karaṇembāhu, the chief of Bhāgamanḍlanāḍ at that time. His friend and companion Boḷtu committed suicide after Ponnappa's death.

The spirit of Ponnappa caused headache in everyone. A famous magician was sent for and he had the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu and the 'ten spirits of the underworld' imprisoned in a conch-shell. The conch-shell was buried under a stone in Malabar. But some time later an accident released the spirits from the conch-shell, and subsequently the spirits of Ponnappa and Boḷtu, and their common friend Kuṭṭapāla Māyila, all found shelter in the well-known temple of Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) of Makki.

[791] Ponnappa and his companions have found shelter in several temples in south-west Coorg. There are Ponnappa's oracles everywhere in Coorg Proper, but none may practise as an oracle unless he has been authorized by the chief oracle of Ponnappa in Makki.

[782] People in every part of Coorg vow to make offerings to Ponnappa when they are suffering from bodily aches. It is believed that Sārtāvu (Ayyappa) has conferred on Ponnappa the power to cure aches. There is an annual festival in honour of Ponnappa at the Sārtāvu temple in Makki.

769 Educated Coorgs point out that Ponnappa is not a deity, but
778 only the very powerful spirit of a great magician and doctor who, in addition, died while fighting. The spirit of Ponnappa was, to begin with, guilty of anti-social conduct, giving headaches to everyone. That was the reason for its imprisonment in a conch-shell. After its release, it sought and obtained the protection of Sārtāvu of Makki. It then no more caused headaches, but cured them instead. It was subordinated to a well-known deity before being worshipped.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex. 601

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as the moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance of public feasts, and improper conduct during the same, as for example, drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of ten rupees. In the event of refusal to pay the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcaste Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and increasing knowledge of the law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to changed conditions, and do not venture on any excommunication. 623 692 [634] [178]

Funeral Ceremonies

The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried in the village burial ground, and children in some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry bull, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little coconut milk, saffron, rice 764 [203] [431]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

to coffee planters causes no little vexation and loss to their often hard task-masters. In features and complexion the Yeravas resemble the Kurubas; like them they are scantily dressed. At their weddings and at their Pándalata or demon feast they chant their peculiar songs and have dances, in which like in those of the Páleyas, women take part, an extraordinary practice amongst Hindus! 563

9. The *Káplas*, who live near Nalknád palace seem to be mixed descendants of the Siddis—the Coorg Rajahs' Ethiopian bodyguard—as their features resemble the Ethiopian type. They have landed property of their own near the palace, given by the Rajahs, and work also as day labourers with the Coorgs. Their number consists of only 15 families. One, Chátu, who is still alive but above 60 years old, was one of the executioners of the late Rajah's family, and in February 1869 he pointed out to the Coorg Superintendent two pits, one containing 7 bodies of murdered men, the other 21 bodies, 7 of women and 14 of children! In 7 other pits 1,500 cannon balls were found.

Besides these tribes there are a few *Parsees* in Mercara, *Brahmins*, scantily spread all over Coorg in offices and in charge of temples, *Shetties* and *Mussulmans*, chiefly in Virajpet, Mercara and Fraserpet, *Moplas* in Padynalknád as farmers, a number of *Tamulians* in the service of European families, and thousands of Canarese *Coolies* from Mysore on the coffee plantations.

All these tribes and castes together with about 200 Europeans and 50 East-Indians make up the population of Coorg which on the 31st March 1870 is supposed to have amounted to 112,952 souls, but this number seems to be much under the mark as the more accurate census in 1871 will show. 563 162

Distributed over the 6 Taluqs or Districts and the 2 principal towns Mercara and Virajpet, the population stands thus:— 16 634

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Localities.	Births in 1869-70	Deaths in 1869-70	Population on 31st March 1870
Mercara taluq	200	263	11,697
Padinalknád taluq . .	598	460	20,303
Yedenalknád taluq . .	373	219	14,153
Kiggatnád taluq . . .	529	263	17,774
Nanjarájpatna taluq .	471	388	23,163
Yélusávirashíme taluq	392	348	18,979
Mahadeopet or Mercara	149	119	3,859
Virajenderpet	12	58	3,024
Total.	2,724	2,118	112,952

162 Separating the Coorgs from the Hindoos and classifying the remainder of the inhabitants according to their religion, the distribution of the above population stands thus:

Coorgs	24,585
Hindoos	80,934
Mahomedans	5,774
Christians	1,659
Total.	112,952

161 It is said, that before the time of the tyrannical Mahomedan
648 despots in Mysore, Coorg was much more densely inhabited. During 1760 and 1799 more than half of its population either perished or was carried away into captivity and after the fall of Seringapatam but a small part of the exculants returned to Coorg. This statement is corroborated by the fact, that in the Southeast of Coorg there are still many deserted farms grown over with dense jungle, and there are here and there traces of former villages and little towns. The Coorg tribe which in the time of the Rajahs scarcely numbered more than 5000

7/8 [Errata: This should read "exiles" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 when they have arrived at the place of meeting, they sit down in [535] groups with the children, and look at the dances performed by the men, who go through the evolutions of Coorg saltation, beating small rattans, of which they carry one in each hand, while they move to the time of a music, which proceeds from a group of Holeyas, stationed between the assembly of the Coorgs and that of their own people, who enjoy themselves, in the same fashion as their masters, at a little distance.

[536] Theatrical performances are added. Brahmans, Moplas, Voddas (tank diggers from Orissa), Gadikas (snake dancers), Jógis (represented by little boys), play through the village.

796 After dinner, on the ninth day, the Nádukólu begins. 526 This is an assembly of the whole district. Every thing is done as at the Urukólu, only on a larger scale. At these [634] assemblies, while the monotonous music plays and the large [535] circle of dancers moves in the measured stick-dance, a couple of men from different grámas and armed with a small shield and a long rattan, step from opposite sides into the ring with a shout of defiance and keeping time with the music, they approach and evade each other, swinging their rattans and dealing blows, aimed at the legs and with their shield warding them off, but often the players get so excited, that their single stick sham combat ends in a mutual severe flogging, 796 which has to be stopped by the spectators. At five the parties from the different villages separate and go home.

[535] In the afternoon of the tenth day, the Dévarakólu (stick-dance in honor of Bhagavati) takes place in every village. [574] The entertainment is the same as on the two preceding days. Dinners are held at different houses of appointment, and terminate on the 11th day with a large public dinner that is given, on some open plain in the forest when the musicians, bards, drummers, Holeyas and Médas unite their exertions to give eclat to the festivity.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

years (from 1687-1736) war-trenches (Cadangas) already existed to which he added new ones, as the passage in the Rájéndranáma states: "He caused ditches and trenches, etc. "to be dug all over the Coorg kingdom, erected frontier "gates, etc. repaired all the *war-trenches* within the country and "thus fortified the Principality of Coorg." 712

These Cadangas stretch over hills, woods and comparatively flat countries for miles and miles, at some places branching off in various directions or encircling hill tops. In the Méndalanád they show a great conformity and are broad and deep, the lower side of the ditch facing the open country, but in Kiggatnád they are of smaller dimensions. As stated in the preceding quotation they were "*war-trenches*," but it is more than probable, that at the same time they formed at least to some extent also the boundaries between different náds. In their conflicts with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, the Coorg Rájas strengthened these works, established Ukadas or guard-houses wherever a road or pathway intersected them, every opening being faced with rough stone-walls and even in the last campaign at the taking of Coorg in 1834 the Cadangas proved no contemptible obstacle to the advance of the English troops. [634] [648]

Other remains of defensive works in Coorg are the *Fort at Mercara*, the *Fort ruins at Fraserpet*, *Beppunád*, *Bhágamandala* and *Palupáre*.

Mercara Fort is still in pretty good preservation, but of little strategical value, as it is commanded by hills all round within short range of cannon. The Fortress was originally built by Muddarája Vodeya in 1680 or thereabout, and then consisted probably of mud walls, but it was rebuilt with stone by Tippu Sultan, who called it "Jaffarabad," and it was held by his generals till 1790, when Jaffar Ali Beg evacuated the place and left it with all its guns and ammunition to the Rája, Dodda-Virájender. It simply consists of a rampart

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

The people learn them by heart or by writing, using, as already observed, the Canarese alphabet. Some of them, as the Harvest and the Wedding Chant, which show the Kodagu dialect in all its peculiarities, seem to be very old and their authors are unknown. The latter mentions the country as being divided into 35 Nâds or districts, and consequently must have existed previous to the events related in the Râjendranâme, in which the country is differently divided and which begins with the year 1633. Others are of a more recent date and contain numerous modern Canarese expressions. In fact with slight modifications the set poetical phrases of the old stock serve the Coorg bard on any occasion for new compositions; but these are usually local and trivial and obtain no circulation. The author of the epic song on the war with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, which, however, has no poetical merit, is Boppanda Mâdeya who died in 1868; and the Queen's Song, which testifies to the loyalty of the Coorgs, was composed by Chôkandra Appeya in 1839. Of these songs little was known until my late Assistant, Mr. Graeter, took up the subject and after his study of the Kodagu dialect made them accessible to the English reader in the translation given.

Reflecting the Coorg mind in its own language, and uninfluenced by European culture, these songs are highly interesting and in their simple beauty often evince considerable poetical merit, whilst others please by the vein of hearty good humour, that runs through their lines.

The rules of Hindu versification do not apply to the Coorg songs; these are cast in a less artistic mould and have something of the free mountain air about them. It is true, they move not in the gay, iambic foot; the more dignified trochaic measure suits the Coorg mind better; each line contains 7 or 8 syllables, but the accent is not carefully observed, nor is there either rhyme or alliteration. In its simple form the

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Mercara-taluq with its 5 náds and 57 villages occupies the middle of Coorg and covers 209 square miles with a population of 15,556 souls, amongst whom there are only 2814 Coorgs. Within this small area all the essential features of the province are comprised:—ranges of high hills and solitary peaks, especially Nurokal-betta and Kóte-betta, fertile rice-valleys and parklike grassland, dense cardamom jungles and extensive coffee plantations, stately forest trees and clumps of graceful bamboos, innumerable clear mountain rills and ever flowing streams and rivers. With the exception of the most easterly portion of the taluq, the climate is everywhere healthy, and the soil fertile and well cultivated both for wet and dry crops. The principal ryots are Coorgs and Gaudas. The four highroads from Mysore, Cannanore, Mangalore and Manjarabád intersect the taluq at Mercara, hence also the great number of coffee plantations, especially in Mercara-Halérinád. Nearly the whole length of the Sampáji-ghat as far as the 16th mile the hillslopes are covered with the coffee shrub and there are some most successful plantations. On the north-eastern plateau of the ghat, in Horamalnád, the Coorg Coffee Company owns an estate of thousand acres. The oldest is the Mercara estate, further to the west, north and east from it are grouped the beautiful and valuable estates: "Glenmore" near the pretty Jessy-falls; "Beltamally" and "Hallery." Thousands of coolies are attracted to this taluq and on Sundays the Mercara bazaar is crowded with them. On the whole the ryots are of a poor class; the proximity of Head-quarters with its various demands seems to fall heavily upon them and to keep aloof richer farmers, besides the alluring temptations of the Mercara shops may induce the ryots to spend their money imprudently and help to impoverish them. The people of *Halérinád* have always been remarkable for their attachment to the Rájahs' family,

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since the dynasty originated there and in consequence assumed the title of "Haléri Samsthán".

The *Head Quarter Station* is *Mercara*, the capital of Coorg. Its geographical position is in Lat. 12° 26′ N. and Long. 75° 46′ E. It is distant from Madras via Mysore and Bangalore 352 miles, from Bangalore 147, from Mysore 75, from Cannanore 68, and from Mangalore 84 miles. Situated on a plateau and in a central position, the locality seems to have been chosen from its comparative difficulty of access in former days. Muddurája selected the spot for a fort and in 1681—82 took up his residence there. Surrounded by an amphitheatre of undulating, grassy or slightly wooded hills—in former days covered with dense forests—the local position of the town, 3767 feet above the level of the sea and about 600 feet above the Kávéri-valley is extremely picturesque and beautiful. The Fort with its principal buildings: (vide p. 191 and 180) the Palace, the English church and the Superintendent's Kacheri, rises in the centre of the plateau. Outside the fort on the southern hill-slope stand: the *Regimental Hospital*, and in parallel rows, sheltered from the easterly and westerly winds, the newly constructed tiled *Lines* of the sepoys with the regimental bazaar and in the hollow beyond the Gaulika-village. Skirting the ridge to the southwest above the Lines, a parade-ground and promenade have been levelled and on the evenings, when the regimental band plays there, Mercara society is in the habit of frequenting the place. At its further end in a retired little garden is the "*Rájah's Seat*," the charming, homelike panorama from which attracts every lover of beautiful landscape. Close by is the *Burial-ground* of the Protestant community, where many an aspiring or weary European pilgrim has found his last resting place, among them Major Gustard, Superintendent of Coorg, and his two wives, Dr. Dunkan Macpherson, late Inspector General of Hospitals, and Major

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443 ornamented brandy bottles and barbers ply their handicraft
438 in retired corners of the road!
439 To the east of the town on a flat hill spur the *Government*
[305] *Central School* buildings and higher up some private dwellings
are conspicuous. The "Westend" of Mercara was occupied
632 by the *Sappers' Lines*. There are still some public offices
361 left, to which some European cottages have been added to
enliven that distant locality. Mercara can also boast of several
European Shops which are well supplied to minister to the
wants and luxuries of European habit and taste.

[491] The hilly nature of the locality does not admit of a great
variety of drives, but the Fraserpet and Manjarabad highroads
are generally in a very good condition and the rides along
the hills to the neighbouring coffee plantations are very en-
joyable.

635 ***Padinálknád-taluq*** with its five Náds is twice the size of
●634 Mercara-taluq, but contains the same number of villages viz.
57 with a population of 20,303 souls, of whom 5611 are
Coorgs and 13,256 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the
[133] rest belonging to other castes. This taluq, which extends
westward of the Mercara-taluq, occupies the most hilly and
wooded part of Coorg, and contains little arable, but plenty of
hilly grass and forest land with the largest and most productive
[249] cardamom jungles. This part of Coorg is not opened up by
[245] Europeans, but many natives hold here coffee plantations,
[243] chiefly planted under shade. Rice cultivation, owing to the
want of suitable land, is so deficient, that even the largest
farms are not able to produce sufficient rice for their own
consumption; the ryots in general have to buy rice for six
months in the year and chiefly rely on the produce of their
[432] cardamom and coffee-gardens; but since both have not been
[249] very productive of late, the condition of the ryots in Padi-
[245] nálknád-taluq is far from flourishing. Containing the richly
endowed Brahmanical Institutions at Bhágamandala and Tale-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Kávéri and a great number of other Dévasthánas and fine forests dedicated to sylvan gods, this division is the most unenlightened and uncivilised in Coorg. There are many jungle-people especially the Kádu-Marattics, who live on Kumari-cultivation (vide p. 108) and one tribe in the forests of Távunád, the Kádavas or Bodavas, whose women dress in Eve's fashion, but with the vanity of Eve's daughters change the leaves four times a day. The women never come out of the forest, only the men show themselves, covered with a coarse cloth. They are excellent marksmen with bow and arrow, and live on the chase, seldom working for hire. Their huts, which they frequently change, are of the rudest description, made of sticks and covered with Netti-Pai (leaves of the Netti palm). Nearly the whole population of Távunád consists of Tulu-gaudas; there and in Nálkanád Canarese is scarcely understood, the people speak Codagu, Tulu and Malayálam.

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The ryots in Kuyinkéri-nád, chiefly influenced by the wealthy House of the Karanika, Kutteti Eyappa, are mostly Coorgs and much devoted to the Pálur deity (vide p. 174). But here as elsewhere in this taluq, the love of gain or, perhaps, necessity seems to overcome the superstitious scruples of the ryots; the venerated dévara-kádus (sacred jungles) which, having for ages remained intact, are generally the finest forests, are cautiously invaded by the natives' axe and planted with coffee; but to propitiate the fabled wrath of Pálurappa, Iggutappa, Maletámbirappa and Ayappa, the devoted planter pays from 8 As. up to 1 Rs. per Batti of coffee towards the worship of the despoiled sylvan deities; but with the disappearance of these sacred forests, the oblation will probably cease too!

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Padinálknád-taluq, being skirted by the highest range of the Western Ghats with the broad based Tatiandamol, at the foot of which the Nálkanád-palace is built, is watered by the upper course of the Kávéri with its numerous tributaries.

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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 *Nápoklu* is the seat of the Taluq-Kacheri, but otherwise
[131] an insignificant place. It is 15 miles from Mercara and on
[87] the Rájah's road to Nálkanád Palace. It possesses a flourishing Canarese School which will soon be enlarged into an Anglo-Vernacular School.

635 *Yelenálknnád-taluq* separates Kiggatnád from Mercara
and Padinálknád-taluq. Its northern boundary is all along
[634] formed by the Kávéri. Within an area of 210 square miles,
[162] it contains 49 villages and one town. The population of its three Náds amounts to 14,153 souls and amongst them 4,802 Coorgs, 7,314 other Hindus, 1029 Mussulmans and the rest is made up of various classes. This taluq is considered as the focus of Coorg life. Most of the leading Coorg families reside here and as they resisted the temptations of the impostor Abhrambára in 1837, they came in for a large share
[243] of the Government rewards. It contains the most fertile
[245] paddy fields in Coorg and also extensive European and native coffee-plantations. The Carnatic Coffee Company held here
[778] large Estates. There are still fine forests on the Perambóti Ghat, and in Beppunád there is a dense Dévara-kádu, called Kariárbana (blackest jungle,) the residence of Beyturappa, which from superstitious fear is never entered by the natives. In the eastern portion of Ammatnád there are still many waste paddy fields. What in the same Nád is called the "Bamboo-district," is remarkable for its luxuriantly growing coffee-plantations, which, but for the devastations of the coffee-
[443] borer, would have been the most productive in Coorg. In this locality a new market has been opened for the convenience of the numerous coolies and the place has been called *Cólepet* in honor of our late Superintendent Capt. R. A. Cole. Another newly founded village in Ammatnád is Anandapur, the first Protestant settlement of a Christian Holeya congregation (1857).

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[131] The seat of the Taluq-Kacheri is at *Virájenderpet*, a

[Errata: This should read "Periambádi;" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 494 — Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

632 Government *English School* is a temporary building near the
369 Bangalow and a more commodious and substantial School-
house should be erected. Of the four *tanks* belonging to the
632 town, Gauri-kere contains the purest water. It is at the
312 head of the Petta and was excavated by the orders of Dodda-
[789] Vírájender, the founder of Vírájpet. At the expense of Pál-
[783] pare Rudaya it was repaired some years ago, but people being
allowed to wash and bathe in the tank, the wholesomeness of
the water must be greatly impaired, and Gauri-idol which is
annually thrown into it at the Gauri-feast will not restore
its purity! Good drinking water, but in a small quantity, is
obtained from an enclosed spring at the foot of the Bangalow
632 hill, close to the paddy fields. The site of Vírájpet being very
245 rocky, the industry of the people in economising every foot
of cultivable land is very remarkable, but the destruction of so
many coffee and orange trees by the Borer has considerably
marred the once luxuriant vegetation in and around Vírájpet.
In the principal street there are a few straggling cocoanut
trees, but the climate is not congenial to a fertile growth.

635 Communication with the eastern portion of the taluq and
491 with Mysore is maintained by two bandy roads, one through
Cólepet, Anandapur and Siddápur, the other towards Bittan-
gala and Hattúr.

635 *Kiggatnád-taluq* extends with its four Náds over the
• [634] whole of south-eastern Coorg and covers an area of 400 square
[131] miles with 63 villages and the rising town Ponappet. The
taluq contains 17,650 inhabitants, of whom 5,480 are Coorgs,
[162] 5,709 other Hindus and 5,818 Jungle people, such as
[563] Kurnbas and Yeravas; of the rest 417 are Mussulmans and
223 Amma-Codagas. Upon the whole the people of this
taluq may be said to be in easy circumstances, as they are
well provided with the necessaries of life. With the excep-
[55-] tion of the large and influential house of the late Deván
Chepudira Ponnappa but little disparity in point of wealth

[Errata: This should read "and the Gauri-idol". see corrigenda, Cat. 116, P. 999 -- Analyst]

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632 The only town of the district is *Ponnappet*, so named in compliment to the late Deván Chepudira Ponnappa, the grandfather of the present Native Assistant Superintendent Ch. Soobiah. It was founded in 1835, but owing to the unhealthiness of the locality it had to be abandoned and a fresh site was selected on the ridge of a hill about 3 miles from the Gonikopal bridge and as far from the Taluq-Kacheri. The Nád-Kacheri has been established there and the Petta is springing up around it, most of the 33 houses have been built and are owned by the Deván's son Mádaya. Of the 124 inhabitants the greater number are Lingaites, but no Coorgs settle there.

635 *Nanjarájpatna-taluq* with its four Náds surrounds the
[634] northern half of Mercara-taluq and extends from the Bisly-
[131] ghat in the north to the Kávéri, the eastern boundary. It
[162] covers 262 square miles and contains 114 villages besides the towns of Fraserpet and Sómawárpet. In point of population, it is the largest taluq, numbering 20,997 souls, of whom 5,225 are Coorgs, 15,289 other Hindus and 427 Mussulmans. Here also the greatest number of cultivators is to be found, amounting to 15,384, whilst in Padinálknád-taluq on nearly twice
635 the area, there are only 15,296 ryots. The taluq, as regards
133 natural features and population, may be divided into the hilly tract of Surlabi—Gadinád and Yedavanád and into the champaign country of Nanjarájpatna—and Rámaswámi-kanavé-Hobli. The former resembles Mercara-taluq, but having its steepest declivities, from Pushpagiri to Katamakal, due west; the latter is like the adjoining portion of the Mysore
635 country. The former tract is chiefly peopled by the Yedava-
563 nád Coorgs, who dress like the Coorgs proper, but are originally Canara and Manjerabad Vokkaligas. Though mostly Jamma-ryots, they are poor and have little influence in the country. Also in a moral and intellectual point of view, they hold a low position. They express little desire for education

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merits as a ruler, the Marquis of Dalhousie has borne a high and honorable testimony in a despatch, dated Fort William, 7th February 1856, which, however, is too long for us to quote. The administrative genius of Sir Mark Cubbon's successor, L. Bowring Esq., C. S. I., asserted itself in a different manner and shone in a peculiar light. With critical acumen and administrative skill of a high order he penetrated, analysed and reformed every branch of the existing administration and placed it on a level with the most advanced systems of modern Government in India. He left India for good in March 1870, highly esteemed and deeply regretted by the natives of Mysore and Coorg.

With the settlement of European Planters in Coorg during the last ten years the admission of pleaders into the Courts and the more elaborate and refined system of judicature consequent to the introduction into the province of the Indian Penal Code in 1861, the Criminal Procedure Code in 1862, the Indian Stamp Act in 1862, the Registration Act in 1865, the Indian Succession Act in 1865, the Criminal High Court Act in 1865, the Forest Act in 1866, and others, the establishment of a better constituted description of Courts became necessary.

Before the 1st *December* 1868 the Civil and Criminal Courts in Coorg were thus constituted:

The *Subadár's Court.* Each of the six taluqs was presided over by a Subadár exercising both civil and criminal jurisdiction. In addition to these were two Petta- or Town-Subadárs—formerly called Kotwals—stationed at the two principal towns of Mercara and Virájenderpet, who were vested with the same powers as the former. The civil jurisdiction of the Subadár extended to Rs. 200, and their criminal powers were those of a Sub-Magistrate of the Second Class. These officials were assisted in their revenue, magisterial and police duties by 24 Párapatiagárs, 13 of whom had been in-

† [Errata: This should read "Ten years, the." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, P. 494 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

634 vested, from time to time, according as they had been con-
635 sidered qualified and competent to exercise the same, with
692 criminal powers equivalent with those of the Subadárs, but
177 they did not exercise any civil jurisdiction.

The *Daryáft-Kacheri* was in so far modified, that it was
692 composed of a Moktasir (native judge) and four Panchayatdárs
177 who were selected by rotation from among the most intelligent
693 of the various classes of the people and who received an allowance of a rupee a head per day for such days as the Court actually was sitting. It exercised original civil jurisdiction in suits, the value of which ranged from Rs. 200 to 3,000, and had appellate jurisdiction over the decisions passed by the Taluq-Subadárs. This institution which had a certain amount of time honored prestige amongst the Coorgs, was somewhat anomalous and exceptional in its character when compared with the system of judicature in force in the other parts of Her Majesty's territories.

In the *Assistant Superintendents' Courts*, presided over respectively by a Native and an Englishman, the former exercised the powers of a Sub-Magistrate, the latter had been vested with the full powers of a Magistrate.

In the *Superintendent's Court*, the Superintendent of Coorg exercised original jurisdiction in civil matters extending from Rs. 3000 to any amount and was the Magistrate of the District. Appeals from the decisions passed by the Daryáft-Kacheri were made to him.

648 A *Sessions Court* was established by vesting the Superin-
692 tendent of the Ashtagrám division of Mysore, with which
177 Coorg had been incorporated for a short time (Nov. 1862—July 1863) with the powers of a Sessions Judge in disposing of cases, with which, as Assistant Sessions Judge under Act XV of 1862 the Superintendent was incompetent to deal. Though this was a somewhat inconvenient arrangement, yet it pleased the Coorgs better than the annexation of their country to

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651 correct, it is rather surprising, that the English Government
423 was less successful in its profits from the same monopoly!
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General Fraser in his "Rules" or Hukumnáma of August 1834 promulgated in Para 31:

"As some of the ryots are in the possession of cardamom grounds, they shall as hithertofore deliver their whole produce to the Sirkar. They shall be paid at the rate of 20 Rs. per maund of the first sort, 17 Rs. for the second sort, 15 Rs. for the third and 12 Rs. per maund, if the cardamom seeds have been removed from the capsules. They are prohibited from selling their cardamoms to any other person but only to the Sirkar. If they violate this rule, they shall be fined in a sum equal to double the value of the cardamoms which they have offered for sale to other persons".

Yet in turning to the Revenue Statistics of 1834-35 the entry under "Cardamoms" shows only Rs. 7,348—4—11, and in 1842-43 it sank as low as Rs. 3,744—4—0; but in 1856-57, when the cardamom jungles were leased by Government, the revenue suddenly rose to Rs. 26,512—12—8. May the falling off of this revenue be perhaps accounted for by Capt. LeHardy's arrangement as proposed in para 159 of his Jammabandi Report of 1834-35?

"There are at present five separate establishments employed in superintending the cardamom grounds; but, it appears that the duties of three of these may with advantage be transferred to the Párapatiagára of Náda bordering on the Western Ghats on giving the latter a small increase of establishment."

This arrangement must have weakened the control over the most exposed and productive jungles. Cardamoms being worth in the market from Rs. 50 to 65, the Government rate of payment viz. Rs. 12 to 20 per maund offered a strong inducement to smuggle the spice beyond the Ghats and to sell it in Malabar!

651 Drawing the administration of land revenue to a close,
423 we may remark, that the routine of collecting the revenue
635 and the class of functionaries engaged in the work are much
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4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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the same as organised by General Fraser in 1834. According to his Hukumnáma

Para 12. "The Subadárs Párapatiagárs and Sheristadárs are to pay particular attention to the cultivation of their respective Taluqs. The increase of the land revenue being entirely dependent on the exertions and activity of the Subadárs and Párapatiagárs, they shall use their best endeavours to extend cultivation by giving every encouragement to the ryots."

P. 13. "In the months of January and February the Subadár and Sheristadárs in conjunction with the Párapatiagárs shall visit every village in the Náds and make an enquiry through the Patéls into the state of the village and the circumstances of the ryots. They shall ascertain whether the whole of the ryots of the villages are capable of bringing under culture the uncultivated land. In cases where the ryots may not be able to cultivate the whole of the land which they possess, they shall be encouraged, and advances shall be made to them for buying bullocks, seed, ploughs and other implements of husbandry, the same being reported to the Huzur. The amount of these advances shall be recovered from the ryots after the crops are reaped."

P. 19. "The Subadárs and the Párapatiagárs shall administer the revenues of their districts in such a manner as may be advantageous both to the Sirkar and to the ryots and which may increase the happiness of the people and the prosperity of their respective Taluqs and Náds. They should not hesitate to suggest to the Sirkar such measures as may, in their opinion, be calculated to improve either the revenue or in any other respect the well-being of the country."

P. 20. "In the months of June, July and August the Párapatiagárs shall again go to the villages and institute an investigation assisted by the Patéls into the state of the cultivation and send reports to the Subadárs, who shall submit an abstract thereof to the Huzur."

P. 21. "In October and November the Subadárs, Sheristadárs, Párapatiagárs and Shánabhóga shall visit the villages and Náds and inspect the crops and send an arzi (report) to the Huzur, reporting the degree of improvement which may have been made in cultivation, the state of the crops and also the damages, if any, which the crops may have suffered from any accident, either from the overflow of nullahs (streams) or depredations of elephants, etc."

P. 24. "In December the Subadárs and Sheristadárs are to repair to the Huzur Kacheri and assist in the preparation of the Jammabandi accounts in the usual manner. They shall according to custom give an agreement

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651 423 (kei-kágada) stating that they will collect the kists (instalments of revenue) from the ryots and remit the amount to the Huzur."

635 634 For the supposed convenience of the ryots Government allows them now to pay:

2	Annas	of each	Rupee of	assessment in January
3	"	"	"	" February
4	"	"	"	" March
4	"	"	"	" April
3	"	"	"	" May.

651 423 On the Superintendent's annual tour of inspection—*Jamma-bandi*—throughout the province, a halt is made for two or three days in each Nád to review and settle its accounts etc. The business consists generally of little more, than the mere form of reading over to the ryots the detailed statements of the quantity of land cultivated and amount of assessment payable by each.

As Head-quarters move on, the Superintendent is accompanied by the Jamma-ryots of the Nád and preceeded by a native band of musicians. On approaching the boundary of another division, long files of stalwart peasantry are marshalled on the border to receive and conduct him through their Nád. On a bamboo frame-work prasáda (offering of food) is spread in his honor, consisting of oranges, plantains, coccoanuts and flowers, the Párapatiagár and Patéls offer limes and flower-wreaths, kind words are interchanged, local wants discussed and the Queen's honored representative marches on to his encamping ground, which is always the most picturesque spot of the Nád.

Since 1834 the steady progress of the land revenue, exclusive of cardamom and coffee, is exhibited in the subjoined quinquennial statement.

1834-35	Rs.	89,915.	1854-55	Rs.	128,917.
1839-40	"	102,270.	1858-59	"	145,949.
1844-45	"	108,498.	1864-65	"	167,803.
1849-50	"	127,118.	1869-70	"	150,661.

4: Richter

Coorg AW5

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Chart of Positions of End Map. /facing End Map/

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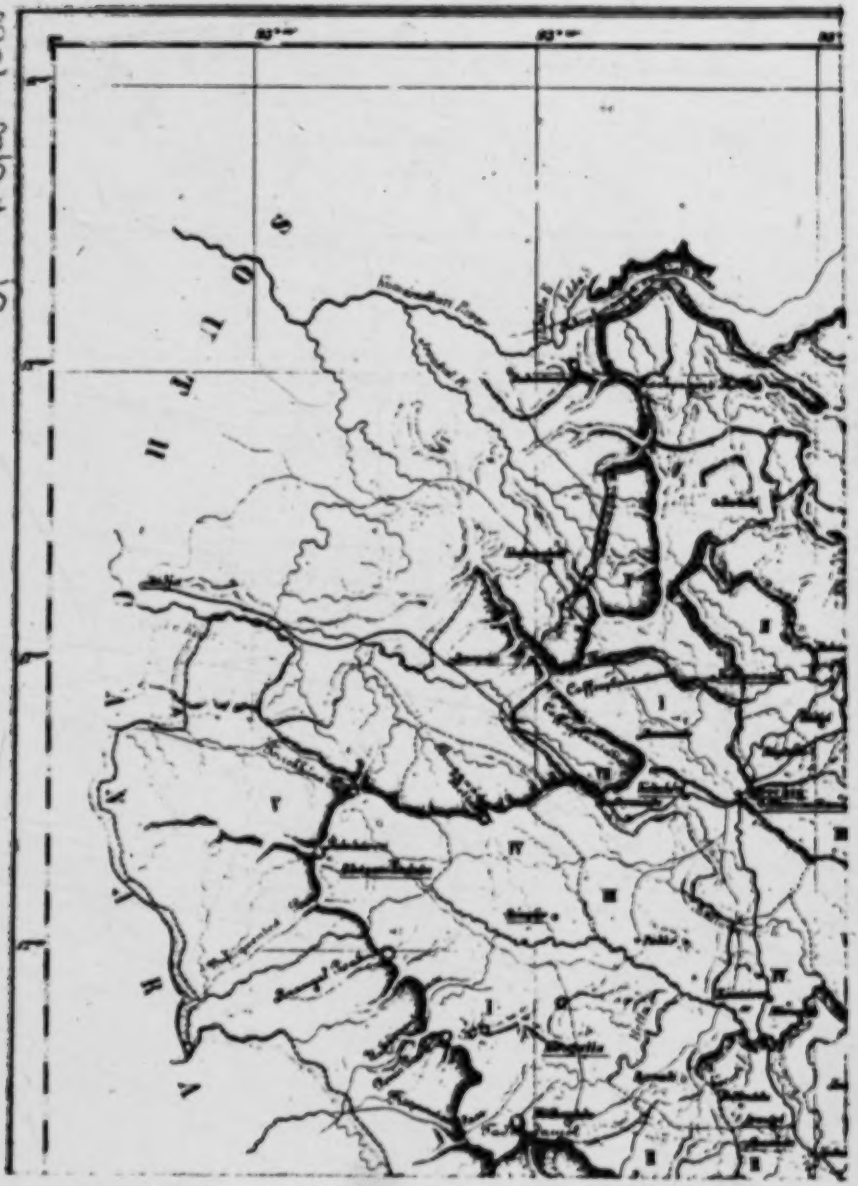

[End Map (A)]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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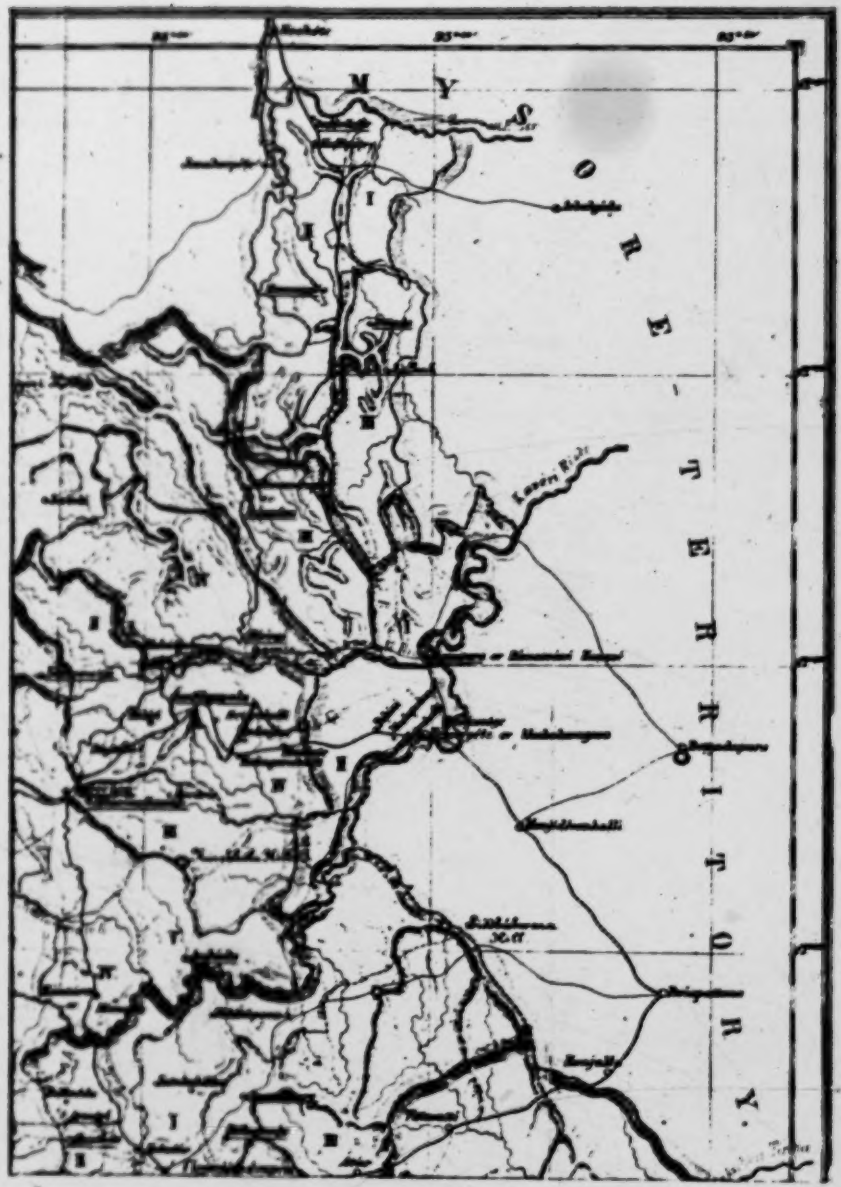

[End Map (B)]

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[End Map (C)]

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A [The colors appearing in the original of this map have not reproduced. In the original Mercara Taluk is light-green, Padinalkanadu is color-less, Yedenalka Nadu is orange, Kiggatnadu is dark-green, Nanjarajapete is yellow and Yelusavirashime is blue. -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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[End Map (D)]